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TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

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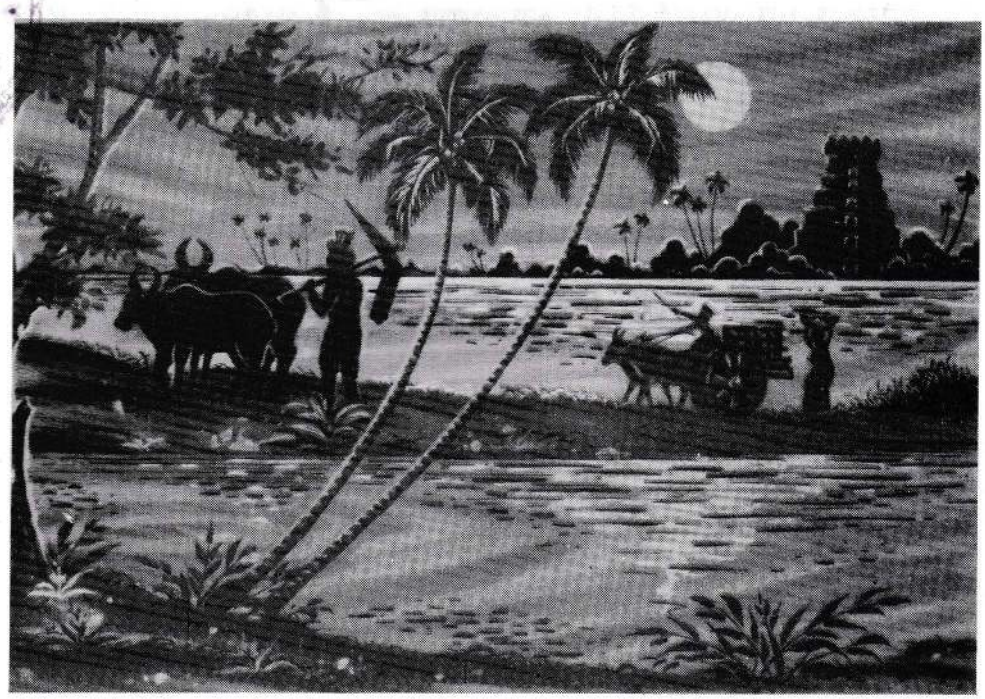
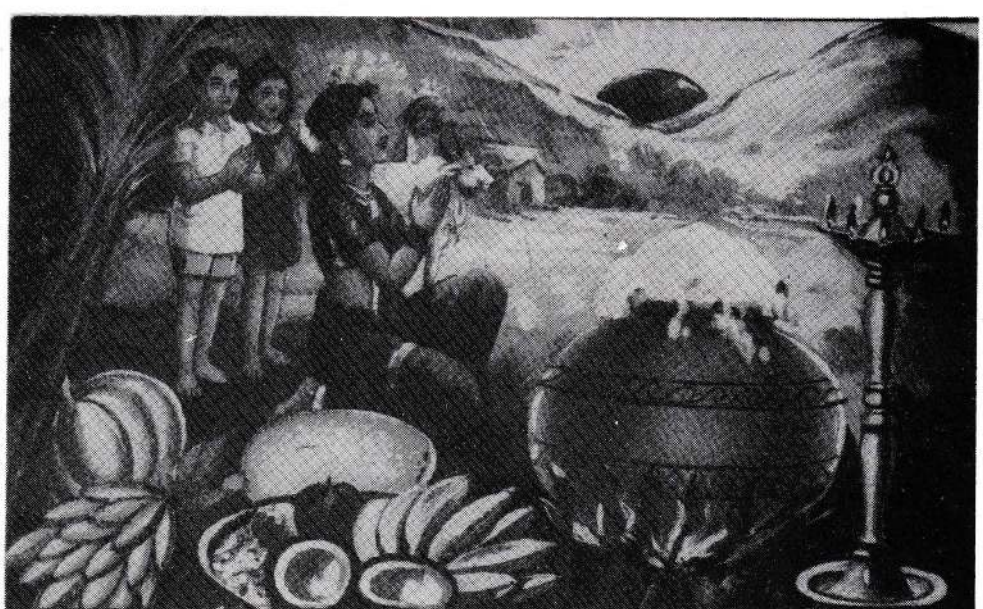
THAI PONGAL USED TO BE A DAY OF REJOICING
IT HAS CEASED TO BE SO IN TAMIL EELAM
STILL WE WISH OUR READERS





A HAPPY THAI PONGAL

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YOUR VOICE

PRABAHARAN A COMMITTED LEADER

Muhundan Bala, University of Waterloo

It is very disappointing to see Dr Brian Senewiratne's comment on our leader. He suggests that the Tamils should evolve political, not military, leaders among them. I wonder whether the Doctor is aware of the so-called political leaders that the Tamils have had in the past. They were only committed to achieving their own ends rather than those of the Tamils. As opposed to our past leaders, our present leader, V.Prabaharan, has every quality that a perfect leader should possess - honesty, strong commitment, determination and clear political foresight. I personally know a lot of people who feel it very uncomfortable to stomach the emergence of a national hero with such great qualities. Tamils have learned from history that what they need is a committed leader, not a cosmetic one. Asking the Tamils to forget the committed and get a cosmetic leader would just not work !

FEDERAL SET-UP NOT FEASIBLE

T Rajan, Toronto, Canada

As a regular reader of TVI, I have been following the argument between Mr.Thangavelu and Dr.Brian Senewiratne.

What Dr Senewiratne prescribes for the Tamils is a Federal set-up. That is fantastic. But the question is 'who is going to deliver it?' Doctor agrees that the UNP, the SLFP, and the JVP are all enemies of the Tamils. And so this means whoever comes to power will be against any devolution of powers to the Tamils. An obvious issue of merger of North and East made a hue and cry in Sri Lanka and President Jayewardene consoled the Sinhalese saying that he himself would campaign against the merger. Even if the party that comes to power wants to scrap the Unitary Constitution and create a Federal set up, which in my view would not simply happen, the opposition party would take it to the streets and the 'subversives' would take it to the grave yard! So, even if a Federal set up was established, as Dr Senewiratne suggests, the party that comes to power next may well scrap it (now that the Tigers have given up fighting) and get back to a Unitary Constitution. When this happens, the Doctor will not be able to heal the wounds of the Tamils. The Doctor thinks that except for a bunch of Sinhalese, others in Sri Lanka are all like him. I think it is the opposite. Except for a handful of Sinhalese, the whole bunch of them are against any devolution of powers to the Tamils.

Even if the Federal set up was not scrapped, in the long run it may prove adverse to the Tamils. The colonisation of Tamil areas would continue at high speed and the Tamils would then be in a defenceless position. What happened and is happening in Trincomalee would happen in Point Pedro. Thousands of Weli Oyas will emerge overnight. Now who would the Tamils complain to? Colombo? Delhi? UN? The Ahimsa route will not serve any good, as the Tamils experienced all these years, and so what's the remedy? Should the Tamils then get back to an armed struggle to safeguard their land? or should they have to stomach this and as a result be ruled by the Sinhalese? It will, in the long run, be worse than a Unitary Constitution because now the Sinhalese will rule Jaffna from Jaffna rather than from Colombo. And, above all, the Tamils will be left with no land to claim for themselves. For if the Doctor's wish, that is an establishment of a Federal set up, comes true there should be an emergence of a Colombo government that would consist of a lot of Senewiratnes and for it to last as it is, there should be an emergence of lots and lots of Senewiratnes among the Sinhalese masses. Whether these things would happen is anyone's guess, but in my opinion it is nothing but next to impossible.

Now, it is easy for Dr Senewiratne to accuse me for commenting from Canada. After examining the possible consequences, it becomes clear that the Doctor's prescription of a 'Federal' set up will not solve the Tamils' problem rather create some serious side effects that would be worse than the problem itself!

NO MOOD FOR CELEBRATIONS

N. Suntha, Wembley, UK

X'mas is a season of rejoicing for people all over the world, but not for the Tamils of Sri Lanka. They have no reason to celebrate X'mas or Thai Pongal, New Year or Deepavali.

These Tamils scattered in many countries should sit and think for a while on these festive days what is happening to their people in Sri Lanka. In their own homeland the Tamils move about in fear and anguish. Their lives are at stake at any moment, anywhere. A shot may crack at anyone from any direction to deprive one of life or limb.

The militants live an 'underground' life bereft of all necessities of life - not to speak of comforts - with no proper food, no sleep or rest, every moment expecting an attack on them. Meeting with friends and having meals together or the normal amenities like TV, radio or telephone or even a good bath for that matter are denied to them.

It is surprising to note that even supporters of the Tamil liberation struggle forget about their counterparts in Sri Lanka and enjoy themselves. They should be ashamed of themselves for forgetting, even temporarily, the Tamil cause and the fate that has befallen them. Their homeland has been occupied by Sinhalese colonists, and an unwanted and 'empty' Provincial Council has been thrust on them under military threat and against the will of the people.

The prevailing 'climate' in Sri Lanka is bound to continue because the IPKF is in control of the North and East. So, where is the cause for us to rejoice?

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EDITORIAL

EELAM TAMIL AGENDA FOR 1989

The Catch 22 question for President Premadasa is what will he do if the majority elected to Parliament on Feb.15 is opposed to the UNP. Neither the SLFP and its allies nor the UNP has got used to what the French call "the politics of pragmatic cohabitation" where the supporting parties of President Mitterand in the French National Assembly were in a minority as against the majority commanded by Jacques Chirac, the Prime Minister, who later became his chief rival at the presidential election.

But there are more controversial issues on hand. The withdrawal of the IPKF is a priority on President Premadasa's agenda. The question is, who is to determine whether the IPKF has fulfilled its role? A Commonwealth "Eminent Persons Group" would be an impartial body. So would a UN investigation team. A third and likely possibility is that President Premadasa will appoint a Presidential Commission to inquire into allegations of Indian atrocities. But the Indians will have to be compelled, by the pressure of world opinion, to have their conduct investigated.

President Premadasa has pledged (1) to re-negotiate the Accord, and (2) to secure the withdrawal of the IPKF. He can do both but not to his satisfaction. With a few changes here and there, an Indo-Sri Lanka Treaty of Friendship in Perpetuity will replace the Accord. President Premadasa's problem will be to keep India at arm's length so that he could avoid the bear's embrace. Otherwise Sri Lanka risks being "Bhutanised" in its foreign relations. It is doubtful that the IPKF will leave in a hurry. Two or three Indian battalions may withdraw but it will be cosmetics intended to placate 'the southern subversives', the JVP. It will again take an international monitoring team to ensure that the last Indian soldier has left the island's shores and that India respects the borders of a neighbouring state.

The future of India's puppet EPRLF government in the North-East needs careful scrutiny. Isn't it time that a judicial body looks into the fraud and trickery by which it gained office and if necessary excise this cancer from our body politic? What is needed is a free and fair election which will determine in a democratic manner whom the Tamil people wish to have as their elected rulers.

We expect President Premadasa will make the effort to seek assistance from Sri Lanka's aid-givers. The President must ensure that the aid obtained is distributed fairly, given his reputation for firm executive government. Aid until recently was frittered away in Colombo or given to party faithfuls or cornered by Ministers interested in building their own empires.

President Premadasa has successfully kept himself outside the bloody inter-ethnic conflict other than condemning India's role. As President he will have to protect himself from those who built 'a great wall of China' around President Jayewardene and consequently denied him access to the people. President Premadasa is a man of the people who was able to win the support of a goigama-dominated society. His first and immediate task will be to start the process of nation-building. To do so he must weed out the Sinhala chauvinists, and more importantly, incorporate the deal that the SLFP alliance offered the Tamils and the Muslims during the presidential campaign. Should he take the bold step of offering the Eelam Tamils a fair deal, he will set in motion the wheels of the machinery of a peace process.

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TAMIL VOICE International

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Volume 2 No 1
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Contents:

Your voice 2
Editorial 3
Children of a lesser God 4
Fortnightly Forum 5
Thirukkural 6
Ask Rani 7
Did LTTE falter 8
Killing fields - JVP factor 9
Anniversary Greetings 10-11
Media Reports 12-13
Presidential Election Results ... 14
People and Events 15
Eelam News 16
Sri Lankan News 17
Tamil Proverbs 19
Late News 20

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CHILDREN OF A LESSER GOD: THE REPATRIATES

by Sundari

Twenty four years ago, the Sirimavo-Shastri pact seemed the exact solution to end the uncertainty confronting thousands of plantation Tamils who formed the base of Sri Lanka's enviable tea and rubber industry. But those repatriated to India have suffered a sorry fate. As a 38 year old woman repatriated in March 1981 explained to *The Illustrated Weekly of India* : "When the Sirimavo-Shastri pact came, many of us rejoiced. It was the end of all our miseries. Though India was a strange land and we knew we would have problems adjusting to the alien environment, we were certain that life would be infinitely better than the hell-hole we were living in. But all our hopes were dashed. We were let down by the Indian government. We were kicked from pillar to post. We have no roofs over our heads. Our children get no education. We are starving. We are looked upon as undesirable parasites in our home country. We have nowhere to go."

When the pact was signed in 1964, an estimated 0.975 million plantation Tamils were stateless. It was agreed that 0.3 million of these, along with their natural increase, would be granted Sri Lankan nationality, while India would accept 0.525 million and their natural increase as citizens of India. The status of the balance was to be decided later. Based on this, repatriation was started in 1968 despite criticisms that India and Sri Lanka were more keen on dividing numbers than on the plight of the people involved.

Repatriation was forced on many since 0.7 million applied for Sri Lankan citizenship as against an expected 0.3 million. This meant that about 0.4 million who wished to stay on in Sri Lanka were placed in a position of being forced to go to India against their wish. The Indian government gave prospective repatriates a package of rehabilitation schemes from which to choose. Not surprisingly most chose rehabilitation on plantations. But as the openings in plantations in South India were limited, many were assigned arbitrarily to other rehabilitation schemes such as employment in spinning mills, state farm corporations and the awarding of business loans. Corruption, inefficiency and the presence of middlemen and touts have resulted in most of these schemes failing to achieve their objectives. Consequently the supposed beneficiaries of the schemes - the repatriates - find themselves in a state of near destitution.

Nearly 85 per cent of repatriates received the first instalment of the business loan. Less than five per cent of these have been successful in receiving the second instalment. The rest have not been able to utilise the first instalment in business ventures as they are essentially plantation workers unfamiliar with commercial dealings. Moreover, for most, the amount given by the government is all the money they have and so is diverted towards other ends, primarily food, shelter and clothing for the family.

In other cases, private entrepreneurs who are eligible for loans of Rs25,000 for every repatriate employed by them have availed themselves of the money, and then sent the repatriates away under various pretexts. A rice mill in the Tiruchi district, for instance, employed 11 families in 1983 and obtained a loan of Rs2.75 million from the Repatriate Bank. Some months later, cases of theft were filed against all the repatriates and they were summarily dismissed, allowing the owner to put the loan to good use and repay it in easy instalments.

To date some 0.46 million persons have been repatriated to India. Under the 1964 pact and the subsequent Sirimavo-Indira pact of 1974, about 0.285 million stateless Tamils still remain to be repatriated to India. Clause 2.16(d) of the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accord calls for expediting the "repatriation from Sri Lanka of Indian citizens to India... concurrently with the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from Tamil Nadu." The repatriation of Tamil refugees from Tamil Nadu has already started. Before long the exodus of plantation Tamils to India will start all over again. While the fate of those already repatriated still hangs in the balance, a dismal future awaits the next arrivals.

It is pertinent to note that the Sinhalese dominated post-independence Government of Ceylon, perceiving in the plantation Tamils a possible political threat, in one of its first enactments - the Citizenship Act of 1948 - rendered the entire Tamil plantation workforce stateless entities.

Then in November 1949, through the Parliamentary Election (Amendment) Act it was proclaimed that a person should be a citizen of Sri Lanka in order to enrol in the electoral register. With this, in one fell swoop, one million individuals already rendered stateless became voteless as well. To make matters worse, none of them could purchase property in Sri Lanka as only citizens could do so. Since stateless persons could not obtain travel documents, they could not travel outside the country. Education which was free up to university level for citizens, was denied to the plantation Tamils on the grounds that they were stateless. They could not even obtain bank loans from the state.

It is to the eternal shame of Eelam Tamils that with few exceptions, most notably Thanthai Chelva, they did nothing to assist their sisters and brothers on the plantations. Had they bothered they may have realised that the treatment being meted out to Tamils in the hill country was perhaps a foretaste of what was to come. Turning the proverbial blind eye has proved a costly mistake.

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FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

THE FAREWELL

Place: Islamabad
Venue: South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) summit
Star performer: J.R. Jayewardene

The leaders of seven South Asian countries met in Islamabad at the summit hosted by the newly elected Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto. The finale of the summit was stolen by none other than the retiring President of Sri Lanka. In an emotive speech he first portrayed India as the key to SAARC's future success. He then went on to give what the foreign press described as a heart-rending appeal for an end to the terrorist violence that has torn his country apart. As he stepped off the stage "there were tears in people's eyes."

Behind the scenes there was some hard-headed bargaining. Immediately following Jayewardene's meeting with Gandhi at the summit, India announced that it would begin troop withdrawals from Sri Lanka. According to the communique two battalions were to leave the north-east followed by more withdrawals "as the situation improves further, as the devolution of power becomes effective, as the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement gets progressively implemented and as the mischief-making potential of extremist elements opposed to the agreement is reduced."

THE PROFESSOR'S PROFILE

The spotlight in Sri Lanka meanwhile turns on the new President. "If I did sell *leveriya* as a boy to earn my living I would be proud of the fact. Greatly proud. Alas I did not. Nor am I a by-product of those who with their colonial masters oppressed the poor." Ranasinghe Premadasa thus responded when he was an opposition front bencher to being called the "leveriya selling boy from Keselwatte." Myths, legends and reality are rapidly being woven around the man sworn in as president at the Dalada Maligawa at the auspicious time of 10.40am. Professor Tilak Ratnakara writing in the Christmas Day edition of the *Weekend* portrays the life of Premadasa in terms worthy of the Bible. To wit: "When the little infant destined to be the president of this country was born a whole band of astrologers cast his horoscope and advised the father, 'This is no ordinary child. He will lead this country one day. He is a born leader. Look after him. Nurture him. Let him build himself up'." The professor is at pains to point out that Ranasinghe Premadasa was not born in a slum as at the time Keselwatte was the equivalent of the Cinnamon Gardens of today which was then called Kumbikele meaning the forest of the ants. He then recalls an incident in Yala in 1974 when Premadasa sat on a rock and said: "There was nobody from the UNP willing to take on the mighty left leader Dr N.M. Perera in 1956... I was new to the area but I walked the villages, the dusty roads. I was defeated but not only did I save my deposit but I made such a good showing that Dr N.M. himself wished me luck. And Dudley Senanayake gifted his camera to me and gave me his car and asked me to rest in Yala. From that day Yala is my sanctuary."

FLIGHT TO THE BAHAMAS

Not everybody it seems seeks sanctuary in Yala. It was reported that on the Tuesday following the presidential election results, former finance minister Ronnie de Mel slipped out of the island using a diplomatic passport to which he was not entitled. Mr de Mel who served as finance minister for ten years, resigned from the UNP, rejoined the SLFP and campaigned for Mrs Bandaranaike. According to supposedly well informed sources in Colombo he was heading for the Bahamas via Madras and New York. Answering questions at a press conference, Lalith Athulathmudali said Mr de Mel had obviously forgotten to return his passport as required when he resigned as minister of finance. The government had set up a commission to investigate unlawful payments allegedly made by British companies to Mr de Mel, and also to probe companies in which he or his family members have financial interests.

Mr de Mel who happens to be in Bangalore on holiday, has angrily denied the allegations. He said: "This is only an attempt by my political enemies to sling mud at me and silence me in the campaign against the massive corruption of certain leaders of this government which I am spearheading in Sri Lanka. After my holiday I will go back to Sri Lanka for the coming parliamentary elections." We await the next instalment of this saga with interest.

In comparison to Mr de Mel, those Tamils who fled the country without access to diplomatic privilege suffer a sorry fate. In Britain, the Tamil Action Refugee Group (TRAG) has accused the British government of closing its eyes to what is happening in Sri Lanka and using questionable methods to keep Tamils out. Of the 5000 or so Tamils seeking refugee status in Britain, only 33 have been recognised as "genuine" cases and given refugee status. More than 250 have been deported of which at least one has been killed after return. At present there are about 3500 cases under review. Many of those concerned are professionals, others political activists with bullet wounds and scars to prove the persecution that they have suffered.

The persecution continues unabated. President Premadasa told the nation after his victory: "The ballot of the people has triumphed over the brutality of the bullet. We are relieved that sanity has prevailed over terrorism." The question is, has it?

"Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary restriction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increases the capacity for service".

Mahatma Gandhi

"Moderation in temper is always a virtue, but moderation in principle is always a vice".

Thomas Paine

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Thirukkural

by S.Sriskandarajah

உருவுகண்டு எள்ளாமை வேண்டும் உருள்பெருந்தேர்க்கு
அச்சாணி அன்னார் உடைத்து.

Uruvu Kandu Ellaamai Verndum Urul Perum Therkku
Achchaani Annaar Udaiththu - **(Transliteration)**

Let there be no scorn on seeing the external appearance;
the world has men who are like the axle-pin of a big rolling car - **(Translation)**

Every rule has an exception and exceptions are important, and exceptions prove the rule. To those who ignore the exception, Thiruvalluvar at times sounds controversial and his diction appears contradictory. Unless the couplets of Thiruvalluvar are seen in the correct perspective Thiruvalluvar would be seen to be at variance with himself.

There are many instances in which Thiruvalluvar has stressed the importance of one's appearance. A specific instance occurs in his chapter on "Envoys." Therein, while enumerating the qualities of a proper envoy, Thiruvalluvar says "Let him be sent as envoy who in abundant measure possesses a good personality and natural wisdom as well as acquired knowledge of arts and sciences." A good personality is important not only for an envoy but also for anyone, because the way of the world is to go by appearance. Most people pay attention to 'face' value and not to intrinsic worth. Intrinsic value can be at variance with 'face' value. It is this unnoticeable and difficult-to-know variance that has thwarted the efforts of many a man throughout history. It is this history which Thiruvalluvar wants us to bear in mind.

The size and enormity of anything is not material. "The ocean is enormous but its water is salty and not drinkable, while the spring near the beach though small is yet drinkable. The flower of the pandanus is large but not fragrant; but the flower of 'Makizh' though small is sweet smelling. Therefore the worth and importance of a thing or a person cannot be decided from the external appearance" says Avvaiyaar of Tamil Sangam fame.

Let us now revert to the Kural. All of us know our traditional 'car', the non-automobile vehicle used in our temples on which the presiding Deity is circumperambulated around the temple. This car is pretty large. But the wheels on which the whole architectural structure of the car rests are kept in position by a small iron pin called axle-pin. It is small and slender; but the purpose it serves is tremendous. If one were to go by the size of the axle-pin, one will dismiss it as a non entity. But if one takes time to study the function it performs, one will simply be amazed. Just like this axle-pin, there are men also who are small and dwarfs, silent and simple with capabilities that are immeasurable. This being the nature of the world, Thiruvalluvar draws our attention to the exception to the general rule and tells us that appearance is deceptive and that we should always look into the core and not to the cortex of anything.

Our epics, books of ethics and literature are replete with advice of this kind. Still, time and again, men when drunk with power and arrogance, forget this advice and fall prey to the machinations of craftier people. Let us illustrate this Kural with the help of an epical episode.

Once upon a time there lived a king called Mahaabali. He was the son of a good 'Asura' (demon) known as Prahalaada. By his penances and tapas he had acquired tremendous powers so that Devendra himself became jittery.

Fearing that Mahaabali would become intoxicated with power and destroy the Devas and Devendra himself, Kashyappa and his wife Aditi prayed to Lord Vishnu and begged Him to be born as their son to protect Devendra and the Devas. In answer to their prayers Vishnu was born as Vaamana. When the ripe time came, Vaamana, in the form of a young pupil, went to the Yaaga that was being performed by Mahaabali where all were welcome to ask for anything their hearts desired. When Vaamana arrived at the Yaaga scene, it aroused the suspicion of many, and they advised Mahaabali not to entertain him. But Vaamana appeared so puny that Mahaabali did not care two hoots to the advice offered by the elders and bade Vaamana ask for what he pleased without hesitation. Vaamana, the God incarnate begged for only three paces of 'ground' as would be paced by him. Mahaabali smiled at the request of Vaamana and regarded the dimunitive student from head to foot, and said "So be it; pace and take it." The little Vaamana all of a sudden grew in size and with one step measured the earth and with another the entire heavens. And there being no room left for the third pace, he set his foot on Mahaabali's head and crushed him. So goes the story.

Let us not split hairs here about the possibility or otherwise of the truth of the story. Suffice it to say that the dwarfish size of Vaamana misled Mahaabali and he succumbed to the designs of Vaamana. When Ravana confronted Rama for the first time, he also was deceived by the appearance of Rama. So was Soorapathman deceived when he mistakenly regarded Lord Muruga as a babe. Their Himalayan miscalculations based on mere appearance brought their downfall. Let the Kural we reviewed guard us against the possible pitfalls.

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Ask Rani

THE MEANING OF CHRISTMAS

Dear Rani,

In the past month Christmas has been celebrated the world over. The teaching of Christ and for that matter of leaders of other religions as well inform followers to exercise love, compassion, tolerance, and forgiveness on other living beings and to treat other human beings as equals. But what is happening in the world now? Greed, hatred, treachery, torture, murder are but commonplace occurrences. Might is right is the unwritten law prevailing everywhere. Can you please explain this incongruity? **S.Athi, Enfield.**

A *You are perfectly correct in pointing out the essential ingredients in the teachings of the great religious leaders. But the world of today that you describe is really no different to the world at the time of Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed or any other religious leader. Indeed the message of a more recent entity who was more of a political than a religious leader namely Mahatma Gandhi is not much different. In other words, we have not fully learnt, understood or enacted the lessons that these great beings have taught us. But I believe that their lives and the precepts laid down by them have not been in vain. It is my view that what has saved the world from even greater destruction has been the presence and teachings of such souls who have shown us the error of our ways. At fault are the interpretations, often warped, of the teachings made by followers to suit their own ends. Religions have, on the one hand , been responsible for the highest in creativity: music, art, dance, drama, literature and so on. On the other hand religions have been responsible for the most wanton destruction. One need not go on further than home to see the results of the subversion of what is probably the most advanced religion, Buddhism. Or to be fair , the sublimation of the wisdom of the Vedas to human desires, or disregarding the teachings of the Bible and the Koran.*

THE MEANING OF 'HING'

Dear Rani,

I have read some of the letters that say your column must deal with political matters only, but I feel that there are other things as well for which answers are difficult to find. You may think this stupid but I have seen the word 'hing' in some recipes and have heard the word used somewhere but I don't know exactly what it is. Can you please tell me? **Manorani A., Sheffield**

A *'Hing' is the Hindi word for asafoetida known in Tamil as perungkayam, and used in minute quantities mainly to prevent flatulence. It is obtained from the gum of a plant that grows in Afghanistan and Iran. The stalks are cut close to the root and the milky fluid that flows out is dried into the resin.*

THE MEANING OF TERRORISM

Dear Rani,

It seems to me that those involved in our struggle are mostly described as terrorists. I support the liberation movements whole-heartedly but I do not regard myself as a terrorist. I wonder if you can give me a definition of terrorism and the background to the use of the word? **R.Srikanth, Toronto, Canada.**

A *Terrorism is a value-laden word with highly negative connotations. This is because innocent people without responsibility for the conflict at hand often become victims. Yet the term is used so loosely that it has become a political slogan to denigrate any kind of violence used by "the other side."*

In the 19th century two developments happened that were to have a profound effect on what has come to be known as terrorism. First was the manufacture of dynamite, and second the invention of the rotary press. The significance of dynamite is self-explanatory. The rotary press provided the means of communication without which there can be no terrorism as terrorism cannot be understood only in terms of violence, it has to be understood primarily in terms of propaganda. Violence aims at behaviour modification through coercion. Propaganda aims at the same through persuasion. Terrorism, to put it another way,is a combination of violence and propaganda. There is the sender who is the terrorist, the message generator who is the victim and the receiver who is the enemy or the public.

The word terror means chronic fear, and terrorism therefore refers to the systematic production of chronic fear. But fear is only one effect of violence. The instilling of terror is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for an act to be defined as terroristic. Two other conditions are necessary. One is that victims cannot through any efforts on their part, such as a change in attitude, save themselves. Two, the victimisation is done primarily for the effect on third parties, and not because of the victims per se. *Therefore I would define terrorism as the deliberate and systematic use of violence, to create a climate of fear, where the immediate victims cannot through a change of attitude or behaviour dissociate themselves from the conflict.*

THE MEANING OF THE SIXTH AMENDMENT

Dear Rani,

The sixth amendment of the Sri Lankan constitution forbids those in public life, among others, from propagating the concept of a separate state. This amendment, you will recollect, drove out the representatives of the Tamils from parliament, and the LTTE was banned. But the other groups whose objective too is to form a separate state, as is evidenced from their party names, have not been banned. Instead, they have been recognised and they have been elected and taken oath as provincial councillors. How are we to understand this anomaly? **Sivashanthakumar, Dorset.**

A *Very simply, laws, rules and constitutions are broken in Sri Lankan politics with impunity. What more can I say!*

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Point of view

DID LTTE FALTER ON THE INTERIM ADMINISTRATION?

by Ana Pararajasingham, Australia

A recent article in your journal appears to suggest that the current situation prevailing in our homeland has been brought about by the LTTE "going back on it's agreement (with the Indian Government) in regard to the interim administration" (TVI - 1.12.88 - 'Interview with Mr.Amirthalingam') Similar views have been expressed by many western newspapers and journals and have gone unchallenged.

Whilst one is not entirely surprised when such views emanate from the western media, it certainly calls for response when such views are reported by TVI (notwithstanding that it was a statement by Mr Amirthalingam).

The reason for the conflict between the LTTE and the IPKF is to be found in the following sequence of events which clearly suggest that it was a process designed to bring the LTTE in confrontation with the IPKF.

August 1987: Despite the stipulation that all militant groups are disarmed under the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, IPKF is found to be engaged in the arming of those groups opposed to the LTTE. The following report appeared in the *Australian* of 9th Sept.1987: "But, the government's agent in Vavuniya, Mr K C Logeswaran has confirmed that armed members of rival Tamil groups are moving about freely in the area despite the presence of a 6,000 strong Indian Peace Keeping Force."

September 1987: A senior member of the LTTE commences a fast unto death protesting the Indian Government's 'reluctance' to set up the interim administration. Public outcry following the death of Thileepan leads to Indian authorities announcing the composition of the interim administration providing the LTTE with a dominant role.

Shortly afterwards the Indian authorities dispute LTTE's nominees as "not being acceptable" to the Sri Lankan President.

October 1987: 17 senior members of the LTTE were arrested by the Sri Lankan Navy (which under the terms

Ana Pararajasingham

of the accord was to be confined to the shore). IPKF "allows" the detainees to be taken to Colombo. The LTTE members commit suicide in keeping with their code of conduct under such circumstances. The Indo-LTTE war commences.

It is quite obvious from the above that at every turn the Indian authorities, or more correctly the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the Indian Government, were determined to provoke the LTTE into a situation in which the IPKF could confront it. It has now become quite clear that it was LTTE's unwillingness to be 'used' by RAW that called for this particular plan being set in motion by RAW.

It is also equally plain that the LTTE was prepared to accept the limited autonomy provided under the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord as long as the implementation of the Accord was carried out as per the understanding reached between the Indian Prime Minister and Mr Prabaharan.

RAW appears to have believed that by deliberately delaying the setting up of the interim administration and also arming other 'groups' it could draw the LTTE into a war with the IPKF, and then, liquidate or considerably weaken the LTTE. This action, they (RAW) presumed, would enable the installation of a puppet regime which could be manipulated into serving their perceived interests.

The wanton killing of the civilian population too has to be viewed as a deliberate act meant to alienate the people from the LTTE.

Despite the misguided efforts of RAW, the Eelam Tamils do realise that our hopes and aspirations could be realised only through an understanding reached with the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments. By the same token both the Indian and Sri Lankan Governments must understand that their own interests could be preserved only through recognising the aspirations of Eelam Tamils.

I find Mr Amirthalingam's comments on the "atrocities committed by the IPKF" to be particularly disturbing. He says, "We did not want to scandalise the Indian Army which came as our friend at our request..... Do you expect me to broadcast to the world that that army is massacring our people?"

Even if one is to accept Mr Amirthalingam's argument that the Indian intervention was prompted by a sense of "friendship" towards the Eelam Tamil people, one would have expected Mr Amirthalingam to at least publicise the subsequent atrocities so that the Indian people realised what was going on and persuade their leaders to act in a more sensible manner.

TELF CONDEMNS N-E CHIEF MINISTER

While all the Sinhalese Provincial Chief Ministers took their oaths in their respective home provinces, the Tamil Chief Minister was ordered to take his oath before the President in Colombo and not in Trincomalee, to symbolise the subservience of the Tamils to the Sinhalese. It was a disgraceful act by Mr.Varatharaja Perumal to have sold himself to the Sinhalese government.

TELF appeals to the Tamil people not to be carried away by the illusion of power. They should not forget the bitter experiences of forty years of Sinhala colonialism.

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KILLING FIELDS - THE JVP FACTOR

V Nagendra, Colombo

With mounting tensions, killing of political leaders and dislocation of normal life, a near-paralysis of governmental activities in most areas is taking place.

The government has warned of plans by the "subversives" to create chaos, and it appears to have plans to wipe out the JVP/DJV before they could gain ground. But how long can the military onslaught be sustained?

A large number of recruits of the post-1984 period when Lalith Athulathmudali became National Security Minister, can outnumber all the earlier recruits to the armed forces. They were oriented to Sinhala chauvinism and to the commitment to wipe out the Tamils, as was demonstrated in the 'Operation Liberation' in Vadamaradchy. There must be, in the armed forces, a large percentage of supporters, sympathisers and even under-cover JVP/DJV activists. Perhaps they have been and are still supplying arms and ammunition to the JVP/DJV militants. There appears no other visible source of securing arms and ammunition for them.

The armed forces must have a justifiable national cause for fighting. They cannot be expected to do it for the sole purpose of propping up a small group to continue in office and enjoy power. This group has remained too long and become too stale. It is in this context that there is bound to be an uprising. That is why President Jayewardene has openly said that India would come to his rescue as in the Maldives in the event of a coup. He is appealing to the old-guard of the armed forces who have retired and below 55 years of age to report for work at the Army Headquarters.

Rohana Wijeweera, the currently popular youth leader of the Sinhalese, must realise that the mighty Indian army is ready to go for him and his colleagues. Unlike in the Jaffna situation, here they will unleash a ruthless operation because they have the excuse of helping to suppress an attempted coup to militarily overthrow a democratically elected government. This will smash the gains so far achieved by the JVP, and all their sweat and toil would be in vain. Wijeweera cannot hope to defeat the Indian army. The US has good reasons to endorse the leadership of India in the region. No other foreign power will raise a finger in protest, and Rohana will have to face the dire consequences of his actions. That is why people expect him to grant 'permission' to vote at the elections.

He can still maintain the present stance but allow the electoral process to go through smoothly. He can negotiate with the new President and bargain for his own participation, and build up from there. But if he knocks against the rock, he will be guilty of a colossal failure by the people who have stood by him. Unless he has a secret alliance with either Premadasa or India that he will be spared in the collision course, there can be no justification for his entry into Colombo city or the denial of the voting rights to the people at the forthcoming elections.

The LTTE must allow the Tamil people in the North-East to participate at the elections to help bring about a political change which is vital to remove the present despotism and clear the frauds committed in the name of democratic process. Politics is a game of chess, and the time has come for the LTTE to play its game, since steadfastness adhered to in a decaying democracy can lead to total annihilation.

The future of democracy in Sri Lanka, in the context of the prevailing ground situation, rests squarely on the shoulders of Rohana Wijeweera and Velupillai Prabaharan. They can either redeem Sri Lanka or mortgage it completely to a foreign power. The government in power should understand the aspirations of the people, both Tamils and Sinhalese and act honestly to solve their problems. Suppression by military means is no answer.

Rights and Duties

"It is the right and duty of the wise ones to purify the strong by teaching them their duties and to strengthen the weak by teaching them their rights"

C. Subrahmanya Bharati

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TO A YOUNG TAMIL MARTYR

by Estella Schmid

I want to see here
alongside this silent hero
of twelve years or so
those men who are so ardent
for the equality of men.

I want to see here
on this soil stained
with the blood of a twelve-year old youth
the mothers of free children
of the same age.

I want to see here
alongside this tortured body
the clamour of those who cry out against war here
alongside the brave heart
of such as die at the age of twelve
those who speak of tomorrow
and promise the distant future.

I want to see here
the men who know about space
and control the cosmic flights
and do heart transplants
and decode the electronics of sound
and sing to burst the ear-drums
and paint good pictures
and argue the fine points of issues
in front of this ravaged corpse of a twelve-year old.

Here
alongside this child
cut off at the age of twelve
I want to see oceans
lakes
palm groves
and paper toy-boats.

Here
the weapons from all sources
promising solidarity
on the sure path to life.

I want to see here
alongside the cold body of the smiling twelve-year old
children with pencils and exercise books
learning to write just his name.

And purged at last
of the cliffs of anger
the day will be filled
with roundelays
on the evergreen youth
around the stone raised in remembrance.

ANNIVERSARY

THAI PONGAL, A REMINDER

Prof. C J Eliezer

Twelve months, and twenty-four issues of TVI, have passed by since the Editors of TVI made their courageous start. TVI has made its mark as a journal which brings to the international community reliable news of the Sri Lankan conflict, and authoritative accounts of the Tamil viewpoints. I congratulate all those who have made this possible, and all those who have contributed to these twenty-four issues.

We are approaching the great Tamil festival of Thai Pongal. Wherever Tamils are (and we are now scattered all over the globe) Pongal will be celebrated, reminding ourselves that we are linked by a common heritage, with certain traditions, loyalties and duties.

We are sad that the Tamils in Eelam are not living in an atmosphere of peace, liberty and well being, to celebrate Pongal in happy and relaxed ways. However, Pongal will be celebrated, with thanks-giving for what is past, and with hope and trust for what is to come.

Some years ago, Dr David Selbourne concluded an analysis of the policies of the Sri Lankan Government with the sentence "these policies will certainly continue the agony of the Tamils and the self-destruction of the Sinhalese." Dr Selbourne has a way of being proved right again and again.

As I write, a Presidential election is due to take place in Sri Lanka in a few days. Will the new leaders pay heed to the agonies and experiences of recent years? Is it too much to hope for a new wisdom which will recognise the legitimate desire of the Tamils to live in their traditional homelands in peace, liberty and dignity, and that through such recognition will come prosperity and good life to all people in that land, with the human and economic development which the spirit of democracy inevitably brings? I appeal to the new leaders to place human rights and feelings first, and racial or religious bigotries last.

I appeal also to the Indian Government to recognise afresh the cultural ties and friendly feelings which have existed for centuries between Eelam Tamils and the Indian people, and to reciprocate the trust placed on India as the great power of the region. An early accord with the LTTE would expedite the peace process, especially in view of impending changes in the general political scene in Sri Lanka.

Tamil militants have displayed great bravery in defending home, homeland and community, and many men and women have died in that defence. Their heroism will be enshrined in the hearts of the Tamil people.

Recently there have been very disturbing reports of some murders of unarmed civilians: Father Chandra Fernando of Batticaloa Citizens' Committee; Mr Ahamed Lebbe, a prominent Muslim leader; Mr Wimalesvaran, student leader of University of Jaffna; Mr Sivanandasundaram, a nominee in 1987 for the proposed Interim Administration. Mr K Kandasamy of TRRO and Tamil Information Centre was abducted some months ago, and it is feared that he may have been murdered. Certain of these are apparently due to IPKF activities.

A meeting was held in Melbourne recently to honour Mr Kandasamy. Speaker after speaker condemned in no uncertain terms whoever was responsible for his abduction. It was emphasised that: 'To defend home and homeland was an act of bravery, To kill unarmed civilians was an act of cowardice'. The Tamil Liberation Movement stresses the human rights of all people, and these murders, as also of murders occasionally reported of Sinhalese civilians, are gross violations of human rights. These are not in keeping with general ethos of Tamil life, and will harm Eelam aspirations.

"A just cause is not ruined by a few mistakes", said the great Dosteovsky. Dr Brian Senewiratne has stated his belief that no power on earth can deny Tamils the right of self-determination. On that note, let me conclude, wishing everyone a HAPPY THAI PONGAL !

EELAM TAMILS NEED A PAPER LIKE YOURS

S.Kasinathan, Feltham, UK

TVI is one year old now and you have not missed a single copy. Congratulations. I am very pleased with the paper and the consistent support that you have given our Liberation Movement. The Tamils who have made colossal sacrifices in Eelam need a paper like yours to represent the true voice of the Tamils.

THE TAMILS AND THEIR FUTURE

Professor A Jeyaratnam Wilson

I wish to congratulate *Tamil Voice International* on its completion of one year of publication and on the service it has rendered to the Tamil people during this time. TVI began as a periodical disseminating information on the tragic fate befalling the Eelam Tamil people. Whilst it maintains this objective, TVI has also diversified. It now serves several strands of opinion and thinking in the Eelam Tamil Diaspora.

What, in particular, I wish to felicitate *Tamil Voice International* is that it took a great leap forward and transformed itself. From being a disseminator of information on violations of human rights and publicising the views of other eminent journals on the sad predicament of the Eelam Tamils, it became the Voice of the Nation.

Tamil Voice International today is no ordinary news-sheet. It represents

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GREETINGS

authentic Eelam Tamil national opinion. It is, without a tittle of doubt, the Voice of the Tamil Nation, the harbinger of the glad tidings that independence and self-determination will bring to our storm-tossed community. Apart from congratulating

Tamil Voice International on its yeoman national and patriotic dedication to the cause, I would like to dwell on education as a subject which should receive the attention of the Eelam Tamil people.

We have several priorities which need to be put together in a development plan by a scientific body such as a planning commission; like in India, a national development commission will have to provide the input to the planning commission. The commission will decide on the priorities, the location and the politics of the exercise before it produces a draft. This procedure however implies looking at a broad picture and studying the economy at the macro-level.

I am however concerned with one singular aspect, which though part of the planning process, could in my considered view, be taken out and developed on its own for its own sake and more importantly, in the interests of members of our own community. This concerns the whole area of education.

I think the battle over the use of the mother tongue has been fought and lost. From teaching children in their mother tongue, parents were given the option to have children instructed in the official language, Sinhala in place of the language used at home. This was a naked formula for assimilating the Tamil people especially in places where they lived in isolated communities. It was also seriously suggested that all schools in the plantation areas should be in the Sinhala medium, again with the intention of assimilating the plantation population. All these grandiose plans for a homogenised Sinhala Sri Lanka have fallen by the wayside in the context of the civil war.

Now some 10 per cent of our people have been scattered across the globe. They will be compelled to learn the language of the country in which they live. I have no doubt whatsoever that in 99 per cent of cases, each one of them, given the achievement -oriented consciousness of our Eelam Tamil country people, will be a success story.

But what of those left behind? This is where our political leaders and our rehabilitation efforts can be put to profitable use. I would insist that we revert to the former practice of having our children taught in the English medium, from the kindergarten right through to the end of university. Therefore, if any plans are considered for devolution, our leaders must insist that the substance of education and its curricula be vested solely in the regional authority. This will include universities and the right to establish higher institutes of learning, including polytechnics. We would then have control over what we should teach our children. Our market for the employment of qualified people will not be Sri Lanka. We will have our eyes on the world. As a diaspora our fellow people will tell us where the shortages lie. Our institutions of learning will provide a constant ever flowing supply of qualified persons who will be able to fill all positions with efficiency and distinction.

The finances for these institutions can be obtained from the state and from altruistic-minded people in our diaspora. We will have a star-studded cast of brilliant young people and they will be the pride of our community. For a start, I urge that a body of Eelam Tamils set up a scholarship fund (possibly tax deductible). We can start from small beginnings. We can be certain of success. All we need is to move in the right direction.

PONGAL SHOULD MAKE TAMILS THINK

N.Seevaratnam

The Tamils of Tamil Eelam are in a state of disarray and confusion. Therefore they are not in a mood to celebrate Thai Pongal the very ancient festival of the Tamils. But this passing phase of misfortune should not give way to despondency. Our success now lies in sweetening sadness with cheerfulness. Therefore let not the Tamils of Eelam despair on this occasion of Thai. Let the Tamils on this significant occasion delve deep into the past and plan our future.

When misfortunes and calamities strike us we should not be shaken. That is the time when we should put on a bold face and confront adversity with fortitude and confidence. The power that comes from such confidence will file off the affliction that has visited us. This, then, should be the philosophy of the Eelam Tamils who from the time the Colonial masters left the shores of Ceylon have suffered humiliation after humiliation at the hands of the successive Sinhala governments. Our Thai Pongal message to our brothers and sisters of Tamil Eelam is that their cause is a just cause and that they will succeed in their struggle sooner than later - inspite of gloomy trends in recent weeks.

The seeds for Tamil Eelam were sown by Thanthai Chelva decades ago and the struggle has been commendably continued by the youths of Tamil Eelam. The followers of Thanthai Chelva have jettisoned the cause espoused by their mentor and have, in a bid to enjoy privilege and power, joined hands with the betrayers of the Tamil cause who have been enticed by the power brokers of India. If history is anything to go by time servers and political opportunists have never lasted long in their positions of power. This does not

continued on page 18

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MEDIA REPORTS

THE "INDIAN DOCTRINE" HAS OTHER SOUTH ASIANS WORRIED

(Ben Barber, a free-lance reporter, recently spent 18 months based in Bangkok covering South and Southeast Asia for five US newspapers. He contributed this comment to 'The Washington Post')

Less than two months after India, in response to a plea from its tiny neighbour, sent troops to thwart an attempted coup in the Maldives, the smaller nations of South Asia are concerned about New Delhi's willingness to flex its military muscle in the region.

A series of Indian interventions-military, political and economic - in recent years have affected such nations as Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sikkim and Bhutan. What the region fears is that India is stepping up its enforcement of what is called the Indian Doctrine. As a Western diplomat based in the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo explained it, "The Indian Doctrine means keeps the pots boiling in other countries so none can threaten India."

"These people inherited the British strategy and doctrine and stick to it," Professor Shelton Kodikara of Colombo University's International Relations Program observed of India. According to Mr.Kodikara, India's leaders believe that its "security is tied up with its neighbours."

The coup attempt in the Maldives, an indirect result of this policy, is a case study in the subcontinent's ethnic and political complexities. The Indian paratroops and sailors sent to put down the coup fired on mercenaries India itself had trained a few years earlier. According to the Maldivian foreign minister, these mercenaries, hired by the Maldivian coup leaders, were members of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam. The PLOTE had received arms and training from the Indian army under the auspices of the Indian equivalent of the CIA, the Research and Analysis Wing, as part of Indira Gandhi's program of covert destabilization against Sri Lanka.

Moreover, India's Sri Lankan policy has led it into ever-deeper involvement in that island-nation, where more than 50,000 Indian troops have been pinned down trying to end a bloody separatist war that India itself encouraged.

India's covert aid to the Tamil separatists began in 1977 as a way of putting pressure on Sri Lanka's pro American president, Junius Jayewardene. India, concerned about U.S. intentions in the region, feared that Mr.Jayewardene would allow the United States to open a naval base at the magnificent natural harbour at Trincomalee. Although U.S. and Sri Lankan officials insist there was no such plan, despite worries over the future of U.S. bases in the Philippines, Sri Lanka was induced to grant India an official veto over the use of Trincomalee. In return, India cut off aid to the Tamils and sent its peacekeeping force to try to end the separatist war it had supported.

South Asia is a region of terrible overcrowding, spreading poverty and increased rivalries for space and resources. India- with 817 million people, the world's fourth-largest army and nuclear-missile capability-has emerged as the unchallenged power, with the Indian Doctrine making itself felt in many ways. In Nepal, for example, India recently vetoed China's low bid for a highway project, according to a Western diplomat in Katmandu. India built the road for free.

"Already 86 countries have signed Nepal's Zone of Peace proposal," the diplomat said of a still-vague plan to bar nuclear weapons or other military force from the Himalayan region. "But India has not agreed because the ZOP is essentially an insurance policy against India. India's influence is vast and touches everything. It is Nepal's biggest trading partner and controls land access."

Every nation in the region- as well as such outside players as the United States- have come to accept the Indian Doctrine, sometimes also called the "Indira Doctrine," after Indira Gandhi, who ruled India from 1966 until her assassination in 1984. Under her, India invaded East Pakistan, annexed Sikkim and fought border wars with China and Pakistan. Pakistan was cut in half in 1972 when the Indian army intervened to help what was then East Pakistan become the independent nation of Bangladesh.

Her son and successor, Rajiv Gandhi, has continued the policy. But at the same time, India-itself a nation of many differing nationalities - faces numerous internal ethnic conflicts that threaten its national integrity. The Sikhs, the Gurkhas and the Nagas, among other groups, have engaged in communal and even separatist violence, and the Mizoram and Tamil Nadu regions of India have become hot spots of unrest. The result is that India's army seems increasingly like a many-armed Hindu deity dealing with a variety of ethnic, religious and political eruptions both without and within the country.

However, Rajiv Gandhi, a young prime minister with little political baggage, has been more inclined toward political solutions and dialogue, and more reliant on personal relationships with other leaders, than India's leaders of the past. He seems less inclined than his mother to encourage the ethnic groups of other nations to rise up against their governments, and he recently indicated to Pakistan's new prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, that he thought a historical turning point was approaching in the region.

Still, he is paying the price for his mother's intrigues. Although Mr. Gandhi came to office "with a clean slate, South Block," Professor Kodikara observed in Colombo of the New Delhi foreign ministry, "is the same and he's subject to the same pressures" as was his mother. (Courtesy: *International Herald Tribune - January 3, 1989)*

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TERROR IN THE TEMPLE

Canadians who wonder why Tamils flee their native Sri Lanka to claim refuge in Canada can find answers in this week's presidential election in the island nation off India's coast. Militant terrorists, in violent efforts to disrupt the election, killed 15 people and wounded at least 25. As a result, only 55 per cent of the 9.3 million eligible voters turned up at the polls. The new president, Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, promises an end to violence, saying, "The politics of terror has no place in the temple of democracy." Turning the words to deeds won't be easy. Premadasa may first face a court challenge from his main election rival, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, because violence closed some polling stations. But even if there is no challenge, or Premadasa survives it, guerilla warfare between Sinhalese extremists and Tamil separatists is sure to persist. Peace-keeping efforts by 50,000 Indian troops brought in by former President Junius Jayewardene don't seem to have worked; indeed, Premadasa has promised to send the Indian soldiers back home. If and when he does, violence may escalate unless Premadasa can somehow persuade the minority Tamils - mostly Hindus - that they can live in a peaceful province governed nationally by a Sinhalese-Buddhist majority. And Premadasa won't be able to do that unless he can curb the extremists of the People's Liberation Front. He didn't make a very good start by speaking English and Sinhalese, but not Tamil, at his victory ceremony. *(President Premadasa is known to be fluent in Tamil, more so than in English. Ed)* Courtesy: *The Toronto Star* - Editorial December 22, 1988)

SRI LANKA INSTALLS A NEW PRESIDENT
AND INDIA CALLS BACK 2,000 TROOPS

Ranasinghe Premadasa was sworn in as the Sri Lankan President on Monday, a day after India announced that it would begin reducing the size of its peace keeping force in Sri Lanka in coming days. The announcement of a withdrawal of 2,000 troops followed talks Saturday in Islamabad, Pakistan, between the outgoing Sri Lankan President, Junius R.Jayewardene, and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India. They were attending a meeting of regional heads of government. Mr.Premadasa, 64, bitterly opposed the introduction of Indian forces in 1987, when he was Sri Lanka's prime minister. On Monday taking the oath of office in the town of Kandy, he called for peace and understanding among different communities. But he added: "Our own affairs must be conducted in a manner that makes foreign intrusion unnecessary. I will not surrender an inch of Sri Lankan territory. Whatever the cost, I will not sacrifice a shred of our sovereignty," he told hundreds of thousands of spectators. He said that under his leadership Sri Lanka would continue a strict nonaligned foreign policy, cut back on military spending and step up development activity. In an apparent reference to anti government Sinhalese rebels, Mr.Premadasa reiterated his offer to have talks with "those who are yet to join the democratic process." In a meeting with India's ambassador after the Sri Lankan election Dec.19, Mr.Premadasa asked that India consider reducing its military force, the ambassador, J.N. Dixit, said in Colombo. The Indian statement said the decision to start reducing the peacekeeping force was made because Sri Lanka had carried out its part of the agreement on the suppression of the insurgency among the ethnic Tamil minority. It cited elections in the newly unified and recently pacified north and east. where Tamils form a majority or a substantial percentage of most areas. The Indian announcement preempted any unilateral moves from Mr.Premadasa, who faces a violent backlash among the Sinhalese majority, fueled by opposition to the Indian military presence. He would like to bring the Sinhalese militants, who tried to stop the presidential election by violence, back into politics before parliamentary elections Feb.15. Sri Lankan officials said they expected Mr.Premadasa to eventually abrogate the Indian-Sri Lanka accord and sign a treaty of friendship with New Delhi instead. *(International Herald Tribune 3 Jan, 89)*

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TAMILS COMPLAIN TO THE UN

Killings by the IPKF in the North-East of Sri Lanka

(We reproduce a letter addressed to His Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General, UNO, by The World Federation of Tamils from its Head Quarters in London)

"We wish to draw your attention to the killings of civilians, including prominent citizens, in the North and East of Sri Lanka by the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) both directly and through the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). Among those killed are citizens' committee members, trade union leaders, leading businessmen, and family members of other militant groups, particularly the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). To name some: Mr Sivanandasundaram - Leader, Tamil Eelam People's Front, Jaffna, Rev Fr Chandra Fernando - Chairman, Batticaloa Citizens' Committee, Batticaloa, Mr Ahamed Lebbe- A Muslim leader, Batticaloa, Mr Sivarajah- Chairman, Chunnakam Traders' Association, Jaffna, Mr Rajasangaree- Chairman, Thenmaradchi Citizens' Committee, Chavakachcheri, Mr V. Paramanathan - Chairman. Myliddy Citizens' Committee, Myliddy, Jaffna.

The only crime committed by the above and others who have been slaughtered is that they dared to voice the inadequacies of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, and speak out against the atrocities of the Indian troops. Mr A. Amirthalingam, Secretary-General of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) who has been living in exile in Madras stated during an interview to TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL earlier this month: "What is reported to me is that in the villages in Jaffna the IPKF goes and surrounds the village and then EPRLF men who are also there go and identify the LTTE members or supporters, and they shoot them."

"We respectfully urge your Excellency to use your good offices to cause steps to be taken to stop further killings, and to direct the Human Rights Commission to investigate the human rights violations committed by the IPKF and EPRLF."

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS

NORTHERN PROVINCE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

		Regd. votes	SLMP	SLFP	UNP	Rejects	Total Polled	% Polled
1.	Kayts	49,481	4,503	3,264	4,628	596	12,991	
2.	Vaddukkoddai	58,522	5,252	6,495	4,309	2,397	18,453	
3.	K K S	60,386	3,840	3,117	2,364	451	9,772	
4.	Manipay	58,320	5,089	3,491	4,006	891	13,477	
5.	Kopay	56,450	4,325	5,833	2,493	733	13,384	
6.	Uduppiddy	52,084	3,120	3,400	1,662	303	8,485	
7.	Pt. Pedro	40,175	2,910	3,921	2,620	772	10,223	
8.	Chavakachcheri	51,595	4,023	3,704	2,300	1,035	11,062	
9.	Nallur	61,936	2,924	3,362	2,000	482	8,768	
10.	Jaffna	49,229	3,616	3,546	3,475	479	11,116	
11.	Kilinochchi	53,604	2,596	4,064	3,793	378	10,831	
	Postal Jaffna							
	TOTAL	591,782	42,198	44,197	33,650	8,517	128,562	21.72
12.	Mannar	47,060	1,035	1,431	4,500	149	7,115	
13.	Vavuniya	54,039	1,346	1,819	2,982	230	6,377	
14.	Mullaitivu	41,624	1,119	1,639	3,098	329	6,185	
	TOTAL	142,723	3,500	4,889	10,580	708	19,677	13.79

EASTERN PROVINCE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

1.	Kalkudah	59,421	9,135	8,375	15,289	1,079	33,878	
2.	Batticaloa	99,717	14,972	8,547	29,976	1,702	55,197	
3.	Paddiruppu	56,447	13,977	4,031	16,227	2,373	36,608	
	Postal Batticaloa		159	65	165	9	398	
	TOTAL	215,585	38,243	21,018	61,657	5,163	126,081	58.48
4.	Amparai	94,068	839	32,915	34,251	831	68,836	
5.	Sammanturai	44,790	2,378	12,983	17,866	857	34,084	
6.	Kalmunai	44,077	1,766	9,708	18,746	573	30,793	
7.	Pottuvil	82,833	5,345	27,239	25,262	1,524	59,370	
	Postal Digamadulla		24	292	295	17	628	
	TOTAL	265,768	10,352	83,137	96,420	3,802	193,711	72.89
8.	Trinco	56,026	8,378	5,767	8,112	565	22,822	
9.	Muthur	48,570	4,909	11,087	16,283	352	32,631	
10.	Seruwila	47,693	789	12,733	12,319	404	26,245	
	Postal Trinco.		27	92	127	5	251	
	TOTAL	152,289	14,103	29,679	36,841	1,326	81,949	53.81

ALL-ISLAND VOTING RESULTS

R Premadasa (UNP)	2,569,199 votes	50.43
Sirimavo Bandaranaike (SLFP)	2,289,868 votes	44.9
Ossie Abeygoonesekera (SLMP)	235,719 votes	4.5
TOTAL VOTES POLLED	5,186,223 votes	
Rejected votes	91,445	
Majority Votes	279,331	

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PEOPLE AND EVENTS

DEATHS

Gerard Rajakarier son of the late Angelo Rajakarier (former Director of Education, Batticaloa) and of Pansy Rajakarier (nee Sandrasegara) born May 31, 1957 died December 27.
1, Cleveland Avenue, London SW20.

K.Shanmugarajah (Assistant Conservator of Forests, Trincomalee) husband of Pathmavathy, father of Vijitha and Shanthakumar expired December 21.
76, Palaly Road, Thirunelveli North, Jaffna.

Thangamuthu, Mandalanayagam beloved wife of late A.Mandalanayagam (Office Assistant, Co-operative Dept,), loving mother of Mangalam, late Kanagam, Balasubramaniam, mother-in-law of Kanesarathinam, Selveratnam and Eswary, grand mother of Wimalaraja, Niranjala, Rashika, Prajeeth (Canada), expired on December 25.
16, Walukarama Road, Colombo 3.

K.Velauthapillai (retired Deputy Director of Irrigation) died September 18. Born on 3.8.18 he joined the Irrigation Dept after his early education at Hartley College, Point Pedro. He leaves behind his wife Leela, sons Jeyaraja (Canada), Raviraj (New Zealand) and daughter Shantini (Australia).
146, Thambaseddy Rd, Arthiady, Pt Pedro.

N.G.Thamotheram (retired Director of Public Works, NCP) husband of Nancy (nee Joseph) and father of Dilani Thambyah (Canberra), Rukmani Joseph, Sharmini Ratnasingam, Shanthi and Kumudini, presently of Melborne. 16, Willow Avenue, Cheltenham, Victoria 3172.

ENGAGEMENT

VIVEKANANDARAJAH - CHELLIAH :

The engagement is announced and the marriage will take place shortly of: ARUMUGAM VIVEKANANDARAJAH AND SARASWATHY CHELLIAH
32, Stanhope Road, Greenford, Middlesex, U.K.

MARRIAGE

VASANTHAN - ALLEGAGONE

The marriage took place on January 7 at St.Josephs Church, High Road, Wembley of Louis Vasanthakumar (son of Mr & Mrs Adaikalamuttu of Ilavalai) and Judith Rajkumari (daughter of Mrs.M B Allegacone and the late Mr.E W Allegacone also of Ilavalai). Mass was offered by Fr.James Paththinathan and Fr. Chandra Kanthan
49 Lancelot Crescent, Wembley, Middlesex, U.K..

PERSONAL

Jayalakshmi Kandiah who taught Carnatic Music and Bharata Natyam in London for several years has been appointed Director of Dance & Music at the Singapore Indian Fine Arts Institute.

ARANGETRAM

VANATHI, daughter of Mr & Mrs K.Nithiananthan, Middlesex and disciple of Selvaluxmi Ramakrishnan gave a very polished performance before a large and appreciative invited gathering at Merton Civic Hall, Wimbledon on January 7. As Arangetrams go, this was one of the best London audiences have witnessed in recent months. The Tamil community is indeed fortunate to have an almost unending and glittering procession of talented dancers.

DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

6.02.89	New Moon Day
9.02.89	Sathurthi
11.02.89	Shasti Viratham
13.02.89	Karthigai Viratham
20.02.89	Full Moon Day

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AMONG THOSE KILLED BY IPKF/EPRLF IN THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER

	Name	Date of death	Place
1.	V.Paramanathan	1.10.88	Myliddy
2.	Vallipillai (F)	1.10.88	Paduvaankarai, Batticaloa
3.	Paakkialedchumi (F)	1.10.88	-do-
4.	Muthulingam	1.10.88	Eechanthivu in Batticaloa
5.	Jamah M.Mubara	1.10.88	Kankeyan Odai,Batticaloa
6.	Rasiah Samy (36)	2.10.88	Idaikkaadu
7.	T.Jude Kulendiran (18)	3.10.88	Clock Tower Road, Jaffna
8.	S.Baskaran (24)	3.10.88	-do-
9.	V.Sellakandu (60)	4.10.88	Kerudaavil in Karaveddy
10.	S.Sothilingam (29)	4.10.88	-do-
11.	Sooriyai Yogarasa (19)	5.10.88	Uduvil
12.	S.Sivasubramaaniam(42)	5.10.88	Idaikkaadu
13.	K.Velmurugu (45)	5.10.88	-do-
14.	T.Tharmalingam (f)(42)	5.10.88	Nallur, Jaffna
15.	Ponnampalam (45)	6.10.88	Erlalai
16.	S.Siva Alagan	6.10.88	Atchuvely
17.	K.Vaikunthan (21)	7.10.88	Aariyakulam, Jaffna
18.	I.Ganesalingam (26)	7.10.88	Muthirai Chanthai, Jaffna
19.	K.Mathialagan (23)	7.10.88	-do-
20.	S.Thangarasa (24)	7.10.88	Kommanthurai, Batticaloa
21.	M.Wigneswaran (24)	7.10.88	Sinna Oorani, Batticaloa
22.	S.Sivasubramaniam	9.10.88	Karaveddi, Jaffna
23.	Arulanantham Antony(38)	10.10.88	Aaliyawalai near Pallai
24.	T.Yogeswaran (20)	12.10.88	Nallur, Jaffna
25.	G.Thillaiampalam	12.10.88	Kaluthaawalai, Batticaloa
26.	Arulanandam Ravi (22)	13.10.88	Jaffna
27.	V.Kathirgamanathan (24)	14.10.88	-do-
28.	Gajan	14.10.88	Chunnakam
29.	A.K.Aboobucker	15.10.88	Kattankudi, Batticaloa.

REFERENDUM IN NORTH & EAST

The Government of Sri Lanka has set July 5, 1989, as the new date for holding a referendum in the Tamil-dominated north-eastern province to decide if the areas should remain as one administrative unit. The referendum was originally set for December 31, 1988. It is reported that Indian authorities do not approve the fixing of the date at July 5, but that they are not interested, either.

GCE(O) EXAM POSTPONED

Students, teachers and parents in the North and East are perturbed by the decision of the government not to hold the GCE O'level examination this year. They contend that the Schools in the North and East were open throughout the full term, and education there had not been affected.

NEW TAMIL FRONT !

The EPRLF has initiated moves to form a common Tamil Front comprising the ENDLF, TELO, EROS and TULF with a view to contesting the general elections scheduled for Feb. 15, said an EPRLF source. However, the EROS group has decided to drop its militant approach and contest the elections independently under a different party name Eelam People's Democratic Front.

N-E GOVERNOR WILL ACT WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR !

The Governor of the North-East Provincial Council Lt.Gen.Nalin Seneviratne, (the former Army Commander in Jaffna) has pledged to perform his duties without fear or favour. He said this at a brief ceremony at the Trincomalee Town Hall when 54 members belonging to the two groups EPRLF and ENDLF took oath of office. The 17 members of the Muslim Congress and the lone UNP member failed to make an appearance.

EELAM NEWS

MUSLIM CONGRESS MEMBERS WON'T TAKE OATH

Provincial Council members from the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress will not take oath until the Indian and Sri Lankan governments take firm action to ensure the security of the Muslim villages in the merged province, said its leader, Mr M H M Ashraff. He added that Mr Dixit, the Indian High Commissioner, has promised to take up this issue with the Sri Lankan government.

N-E CHIEF MINISTER MEETS PRESIDENT

North-East Provincial Council Chief Minister, Mr Varatharaja Perumal, has met President Jayewardene and appealed to him to release Tamil political prisoners immediately, and to see that the Tamil language, which has been made an official language, be given its due place.

POLICE RECRUITED IN N-E

1,500 men will be recruited in the North and East for the police force to serve in that area. It is learnt that the government has provided cars to the Provincial Council members of the North and East for their official use. President Premadasa is believed to have issued instructions to provide bungalows to the Chief Minister and his ministers.

IPKF CLASHES WITH SRI LANKAN ARMY

A clash between the Sri Lankan security forces and Indian troops is reported to have taken place when EPRLF men fled into an IPKF camp for refuge in Batticaloa. One Indian soldier and five EPRLF men are reported to have been killed in the incident.

INDIAN FUNDS FOR N-E

The Government of India has provided a sum of 250 million rupees to the North-East Provincial Council towards its administration.

RAIL SERVICE TO BE RESUMED

The train services to Jaffna from Colombo will be resumed after a period of four years, it is reported. Trains for the time being will run on three days in a week. The normal train service to Batticaloa too will be resumed from January 4th.

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SRI LANKAN NEWS

NEW UNP PRESIDENT

Dr K C M Kaleel, a veteran politician and a long standing member of the UNP, has been elected Chairman of the United National Party, at the meeting held on December 31, 1988. It was earlier rumoured that Mr Jayewardene, the ex-President, would be elected to this post.

FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH INDIA

There is good Indian response to President Premadasa's proposal for a 'Friendship Treaty' with more balance and mutual obligations with India, which will replace the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord. It is reported that India is ready to discuss the Friendship Treaty and is awaiting the opening move from the Sri Lankan officials. The treaty could be finalised within two months from January 2, when Mr. Premadasa assumes office. It will be remembered that Mr Jayewardene discussed the draft of this Friendship Treaty with Prime Minister Gandhi when he visited New Delhi in January 1988.

Rs.2500 TO EACH 'FOOD-STAMP' FAMILY

Mr.Premadasa has announced that his proposal to give a monthly allowance of Rs.2,500 to each family of 5 members who are dependent on food stamps will go ahead, and that finding of the necessary funds, 70 lakhs, posed no problem. He is determined to eradicate poverty and hunger within two years.

AI EXPRESSES CONCERN

Amnesty International (AI) has expressed its deep concern over the broad powers given to the Sri Lankan security forces which permit them to shoot curfew violators and demonstrators on sight and dispose of bodies without a post mortem. It considers these regulations as dangerous as they could encourage arbitrary killings by the security forces.

BUS FROM JAFFNA ATTACKED

Subversives from a van attacked with a hail of bullets a bus plying from Jaffna to Colombo with Tamil passengers, at Kochchikade, 35th mile-post on the Negombo Road. Eight persons were injured, two of them seriously.

INDIA WILL RECALL IPKF

It is reported that the Indian Foreign Minister P V Narasimha Rao has stated in the Rajya Sabha that India will recall its IPKF from Sri Lanka as soon as all the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement are fully implemented.

NEW PRESIDENT SWORN IN

Mr.Ranasinghe Premadasa took his oaths as President on the morning of January 2, at the Dalada Maligawa, surrounded by 5,000 'Green Tigers'. At this ceremony he announced that his government would be free of corruption, and offered to talk to the militants without interference from foreign powers. He spoke in Sinhala and in Tamil. He also said that after the 1983 holocaust, 10,000 persons have been killed in Sri Lanka, including 1,491 political killings in the last four months alone. He vowed that he would not give an inch of land in Sri Lanka to any foreigners.

INDIA PREPARES FOR N-E GENERAL ELECTIONS

Indian officials have invited the Tamil groups, including the TULF, EPRLF, ENDLF, TELO, Tamil Congress, and not the LTTE, to discuss their joint participation in the forthcoming general elections. The IPKF has however distributed leaflets stating that if LTTE surrenders their weapons they will be pardoned and taken into the electoral process. In the meantime, Mr Amirthalingam, the TULF Secretary-general is reported to have said, "We are trying to contest (the elections) on a broader base with other liberation organisations who are willing to come in."

FAILED NOMINATION

Seven UNP ministers and 26 deputy ministers have failed to be nominated under the UNP ticket for the coming general election.

PM'S POST TO BE FILLED AFTER ELECTIONS

The Prime Minister's post in Sri Lanka will be kept vacant till the outcome of the general elections to be held on February 15.

SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN DEBT

According to the Governor of Central Bank of Sri Lanka, the foreign debt of Sri Lanka stands at Rs.113,810 million, that is to say, approximately Two billion pounds (sterling) or Three-and-a-quarter billion dollars.

SECURITY FORCES KILLINGS

A Sri Lankan Human Rights group, the United Organisation for Peace and Democracy is reported to have stated that security forces had killed 786 people in November 1988. The group said, "we believe that most of the people killed had no connection with Sinhalese militant groups."

OLD LONDON BUSES FOR CTB

The Sri Lankan government has procured from Britain many of the old buses belonging to the London Transport Board to replenish the severe shortage of buses in Sri Lanka. The buses are said to be over 30 years old.

RONNIE OUT OF THE COUNTRY!

According to the National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali, the former finance minister Mr Ronnie de Mel is said to have slipped out of the country on a diplomatic passport soon after the presidential election. His passport had been obtained on 14th January, 1988, two days before he resigned his portfolio as finance minister, and from the UNP.

MERGER WILL BE INVALID !

It is reported that opinions are being expressed in legal circles in Colombo that with the lifting of the emergency rule, the proclamation declaring the merger of the North and Eastern Provinces would cease to be valid as the proclamation was made under the emergency laws.

SIRIMAVO'S COMMENTS

Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike has accused the UNP of rigging the polls and would not accept the election result. At a press conference, she displayed a sheaf of unmarked ballot papers which had been in a police station. She has threatened to lead her people out into the streets in protest. She also complained that her party workers had been intimidated and murdered by the ruling party, that her polling agents had not been allowed into polling stations until hours after voting had begun, that 17 ballot boxes had been taken to a police station after voting had ended, and that there had been no voting in 49 polling stations due to shortage of election staff thus depriving the voters the opportunity to cast their votes. The SAARC group which monitored the elections will present its report in two weeks' time.

ARMY CHIEF WANTS IPKF TO REMAIN

Sri Lanka's Army Commander Lt Gen Wanasinghe has said that Indian troops should remain in Sri Lanka for some time as "we simply do not have the numbers to tackle the security situation all over the country." The ideal situation would be for the IPKF to remain in the North and East till the Sri Lankan army was able to control the situation in the South; and then the IPKF can leave and we will take care of the North and East, he added. He is also reported to have stated that training of the EPRLF cadres had already begun. "We will provide them the weapons while the IPKF gives the training", he said. EPRLF cadres, he suggested, would be inducted into the army's auxiliary force.

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ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS
continued

mean that the Tamils could be complacent. This is the time for action and retrospection. The leaders as well as the led in Tamil Eelam should realize that lack of discipline and want of planning have been our bane and our curse.

There is no better occasion than Thai Pongal for the Eelam Tamils and their true leaders to take stock, to recoup, to replan and forge ahead with redoubled strength and improved strategies.

May Thai Pongal bring solace and comfort to the Tamils of Tamil Eelam and to those that live in foreign climes under appalling conditions as refugees. Let us be optimistic and pin our hope in the saying "Thai Piranthaal Vazhi Pirakkum"

COLOMBO ABDICATES

DR S P Lingam, Wanstead, UK

This is the 1st issue of Vol.II of TVI. It is a minor milestone. Major and monumental milestones will follow. Tamils are an international people and inhabit many lands. Wherever they are, Tamils have the freedom to live to their fullest potential, except in South Africa and in Ceylon. Radical and historic changes are bound to occur in South Africa to enable all non-whites to live as free people. TVI singles out Ceylon as the only country in the world where race hatred is practised to the bitter end. Tamils have been humiliated and tortured in their ancestral homeland for 40 years by the Sinhalese. Now the combined evil forces of New Delhi and Colombo are engaged in systematic destruction of the Tamil people and their homeland in Ceylon. The Tamil struggle for freedom in Ceylon will remain TVI's main focus of attention until the New Delhi- Colombo axis returns to sanity. There are many vociferous advocates of internationalism who decry "narrow" nationalism and separatism. It is because there are nations that internationalism becomes a possibility. There is no nation on earth that is willing to make even the smallest concession towards the ideal of a world government or a world passport. Therefore, we can only look askance at those who belittle our struggle to be an independent people in our motherland. By inviting a foreign power in the shape of the Indian Peace Keeping Force to rampage and ravage in the Tamils' homeland, Colombo has openly and unequivocally declared to the world and to history that it has no sovereign right over the Tamil people. New Delhi has taken over the role of an international thug and a regional bully. New Delhi's stand is exposed to the rest of the world as a violator of all human values. Corrupt power as practised by New Delhi is non-existent in any other part of the globe today. Otherwise the world's press would have been allowed free access into the Tamil homeland and given the freedom to report to the world the unlawful occupation and barbaric behaviour of the Indian military. TVI stands for international justice. We want immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces, be they Indian or Sinhalese, from the Tamil homeland. The Colombo-New Delhi axis is on a disastrous course if they are intent on stifling Tamil peoples' rights to live as a free nation. Eelam Tamils are as entitled to peace and liberty as any other people. As an ardent supporter and admirer of the ideals that TVI upholds, I wish the paper to continue its unique service to the Tamils and to grow in stature from issue to issue.

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பழமொழிகள் - PROVERBS

பனையால் விழுந்தவனை மாடு ஏறிமிதித்தது போல்

துன்பம் வரும் போது தொடர்ந்து வரும்; ஒன்றின்பின் ஒன்றுக வரும். ஏன் என்பது தெரியவில்லை. ஆனால் அன்றும் அப்படித்தான்; இன்றும் அப்படித்தான். இதை விளக்க ஒரு கதை இருக்கிறது. அந்தக்கதையை ஒருபுலவர் பாட்டாகப் பாடியிருக்கிறார். ஓர் ஊரில் ஒரு கமக்காரன் இருந்தான். அவனது வரவும் செலவும் சரியாக இருந்தது. மிச்சம் பிடிக்க முடியவில்லை. ஒரு நாள் இரவு பெருமழை பெய்கிறது; அவனுக்கு மகிழ்ச்சி உண்டாகிறது. விடிய வெள்ளென எழுந்து வயலுக்குப் போய் தன்னிடமுள்ள நெல்லை விதைக்க எண்ணுகிறான். பரணில் வைத்திருந்த நெல்லைக் கீழே இறக்கி அதனை ஒரு சாக்கில் போடுகிறான். இக்கில் போட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கும்போது மாட்டுக் கொட்டிலுக்குள் நின்ற மாடு 'அம்மா' 'அம்மா' என்று கத்துகின்றது. ஏன் கத்துகிறது என்பது புரியாமல் மாட்டுக் கொட்டிலுக்கு ஓடிப் போகிறான். அங்கே அந்த மாடு படுத்துக் கிடந்து அலறுகின்றது. உற்றுப்பார்த்தான்; அது கன்று ஒன்றை ஈன்று கொண்டிருந்தது. மாட்டின் வயிற்றிலிருந்து கன்று வெளிவந்தவுடன், கன்றையும் மாட்டையும் ஈரம் இல்லாத ஒரு கொட்டிலுக்குள் விட்டுவிட்டு தனது வீட்டினுள் நுழைந்து, மாடு கன்றை ஈன்ற செய்தியைச் சொல்ல என்று மனைவியிடம் போக எண்ணுகிறான். 'தடார்' என்று ஒரு சத்தம் வாசலில் கேட்கிறது. என்ன என்று எட்டிப் பார்க்கிறான். முன் அறையின் வலப் பக்கச் சுவர் இடிந்து விழுந்திருந்தது; அவன் உள்ளமும் இடிகின்றது. இப்போது இதோடு மீனைக்கெட்டால் நெல் விதைக்க முடியாது என்று எண்ணி, மாடு கன்றீன்ற செய்தியை மனைவியிடம் சொல்ல ஓடுகிறான். மனைவியைப் பார்த்ததும் திடுக்கிடுகிறான். அவள் துடித்துத் துடித்து வயிற்றைப்பிடித்து அழுகிறாள். முதலில் இவனுக்குப் புரியவில்லை பின்னர் புரிகிறது. அவள்நிறை பிள்ளைத்தாய்ச்சி என்ற சங்கதி அப்போதுதான் நினைவுக்கு வருகிறது. இது அவளுடைய முதற்பிள்ளை. அவனுக்கு இது முதல் அனுபவம். பக்கத்து வீட்டுப் பாட்டியிடம் போய்,வெட்கத்துடன் எப்படியோ செய்தியைச் சொல்லி, பாட்டியையும் இன்னொரு மாமியையும் மனைவியுடன் விட்டு விட்டு, நெல்லுச் சாக்கைத் தூக்கிக் கொண்டு வயலை நோக்கி ஓடுகிறான்; வீட்டை விட்டு வெளியே கால் வைக்க ஒருவன் யாரோ செத்துப்போனார் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு போகிறான். கெட்ட சகுனம் என்று அறிந்தும் வயலைநோக்கி ஓடுகிறான். வயலுக்குக் கிட்ட வந்தவுடனும், அவனுடைய கடன்காரன் வழிமறித்து, கடன் தொகையை இரண்டு நாட்களுக்குள் தராவிட்டால் வழக்கு வைக்கப் போவதாக மிரட்டுகிறான். தாலியை அடகு வைத்தாகுதல் கடனை அடைப்பதாகச் சொல்லிவிட்டு வயலுக்குப் போய், நெல்லைவி தைத்துவிட்டு வீட்டுக்குப் போகிறான். தனது பிள்ளை ஆணு பெண்ணு என்று அறியும் ஆவலோடு வீட்டுக்குப் போகிறான். வீட்டிலே அவனுடைய நெருங்கிய ஒரு நண்பனும் மனைவியும் ஐந்து பிள்ளைகளும் வந்து நிற்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை உபசரிக்கப் பணமோ வசதியோ இல்லாத அவன், அவர்களை வரவேற்று அமரச் சொல்லிவிட்டு மனைவியின் அறைக்குள் நுழைகிறான். அங்கே தனக்குப் பிறந்தது ஆண்பிள்ளை என்று கேட்டு மகிழ்கிறான்.

தூர இடத்திலிருந்து வந்திருக்கும் நெருங்கிய நண்பனை வரவேற்க வேண்டும் என்பதற்காக மரக்கறித் தோட்டத்துக்கு ஓடுகிறான். அங்கே மரக்கறி பிடுங்கும்போது, புடையன் பாம்பு கடித்து மயங்குகின்றான். மயங்கிய நிலையில் இருந்த அவனை யாரோ ஒருவர் பரிகாரியின் வீட்டிற்கு எடுத்துச் சென்று பரிகாரம் செய்கிறார். மயக்கம் தெளிந்ததும் வீடு செல்கிறான். வீட்டு வாசலிலே அரசனுடைய படையாட்கள் வந்து நிலக் குத்தகையை உடனே கொடுத்தாலன்றி வீட்டிலுள்ள பொருட்களை எடுத்துச் செல்லப் போவதாக எச்சரிக்கிறார்கள். கமக்காரனே என்ன செய்வதென்று திகைக்கிறான். தற்கொலை செய்து கொள்ளலாமோ என்று யோசிக்கிறான். அந்த யோசனையையும் குழப்புமாப்போலக் கோயில் ஐயர் வந்து 'தட்சணை தாருங்கள்' என்று கேட்கிறார். இதுதான் அந்தப்பாட்டுச் சொல்லுமகதை. கதை சற்றுப் புளுகு போலத் தோன்றும். இத்தனை தொல்லைகளும் ஒரே நாளில் ஒருவனுக்கு வருமா என்று நீங்கள் சந்தேகிக்கலாம். ஆனால் துன்பங்கள் அடுத்துவருவது இயல்பு என்பதை உலகத்தில் தோன்றிய பழமொழிகள் எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றன.

'பனையால் விழுந்தவனை மாடு ஏறி மிதித்ததுபோல்' என்ற தமிழ்ப்பழமொழி அதைத்தான் காட்டுகின்றது. அதாவது காயம் பட்டுள்ள கால்தான் நடக்கும் போதும் ஓடும்போதும் தட்டுப்பட்டு மேலும் காயப்படும்; நொந்துபோன குடும்பத்துக்குத்தான் திரும்பவும் திரும்பவும் துன்பமும் துயரமும் வறுமையும் வரும் என்பதே மேற்படி பழமொழியின் கருத்து.

இதே பழமொழியின் கருத்து ஆங்கிலத்தில் 'Misfortunes never come singly' என்ற பழமொழியில் அடங்கி உள்ளது. மொழியும் சமயமும் கலாசாரமும் நாடும் வேறுக இருத்தாலும், மனித உணர்வுகளும் அனுபவங்களும் அன்றுதொட்டு இன்றுவரை ஒன்றுகவே இருந்துவருகின்றன என்பதை இந்தப்பழமொழிகாட்டுகின்றது.

மா செ திருமுருகன்

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LATE NEWS

INDIA CONTINUES TO ELIMINATE TAMIL LEADERS

The IPKF, with the help of the EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO, continues to kill prominent Tamil people to ensure a puppet government in the Tamil areas. Mr.Murugiah who was engaged in rehabilitation of refugees is one of the latest victims. These groups have been boosted in the media, TV and Radio, in India as democratic, and non-violent groups working for peace. EROS and their supporters too are also being targeted.

JVP BACK IN ACTION

The JVP men are reported to have gone on the rampage again. Many more UNP supporters and civilians have been killed in various parts of the Island. Since no such killings were reported for some days after the Presidential election it was believed that JVPers were quiet because they were satisfied that the election had taken place as they demanded and Mr. Premadasa had won, but this has proved incorrect. The killings had been going on unabated but the news had been blacked out in the press, TV and Radio.

'RISING SUN' APPEARS AFTER YEARS

It is reported that the TULF, EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO have formed an alliance to contest the forthcoming general elections. They will use the symbol of the TULF, the rising sun", Candidates for the North and East have been nominated as follows:-

TULF - 17, EPRLF - 11, ENDLF - 9, TELO - 9.

It is understood that the names of certain prominent Tamils living outside Sri Lanka also have found a place in the nomination list.

The TULF General Secretary, Mr. Amirthalingam's name does not appear in the TULF (or common party) list, instead his name appears in the national (general) list.

The IPKF has offered protection to all candidates only up to the time of nomination. Thereafter they will protect only the militant groups that co-operated with them. They will also provide them with weapons, training and all other facilities.

The DPLF party, although it had its nomination papers ready, could not submit nominations because no protection was afforded to them. They have, however, submitted a nomination list in the Nuwara Eliya district.

FLASH

An LTTE statement of Jan. 7 warns that the quislings that have collaborated with the Indian government in retarding the progression of the freedom struggle by participating in the forthcoming Parliamentary Elections would be dealt with appropriatlely.

LONDON TAMILS - DO NOT MISS

THE THAMIZHAR THIRUNAAL

VENUE:

Trinity Church, East Avenue, London E12

(Tube: East Ham)

DATE AND TIME:

22/1/89 - Sunday 12.30 to 5.00 p.m.

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